

Message Text

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1888
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
USMISSION NATO
AMEMBASSY PARIS
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 4 BELGRADE 5317

DEPT FOR EUR/RPM, EUR/SOV

FROM USDEL CSCE

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: CSCE
SUBJECT: BELGRADE CSCE: IMPLICATIONS OF ORGANIZATIONAL MODALITIES
FOR WORK OF MAIN MEETING

SUMMARY: WE ASSESS BELOW HOW ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE FOR
MAIN MEETING AS IT IS CONTAINED IN DOCUMENT ADOPTED BY
PREPARATORY MEETING AUGUST 5 IS LIKELY TO AFFECT REVIEW OF
IMPLEMENTATION AND CONSIDERATION OF NEW PROPOSALS. END
SUMMARY.

1. THE FOLLOWING IS OUR ANALYSIS OF THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE
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ZATIONAL STRUCTURE WHICH WILL PREVAIL AT MAIN
BELGRADE MEETING THIS FALL.

2. OPENING PLENARY--FOUR-DAY INITIAL WEEK, BEGINNING
OCTOBER 4 AND OPEN TO PUBLIC HAS BEEN SET ASIDE TO HEAR
OPENING STATEMENTS OF EACH PARTICIPATING STATE AS WELL AS
CONTRIBUTIONS OF SECRETARY GENERAL OF UN OR HIS REPRESENTA-

TIVE AND THE ECE AND UNESCO. EACH OPENING STATEMENT IS EXPECTED TO LAST ABOUT 30 MINUTES, THERE WILL BE TWO SESSIONS DAILY, EACH LASTING ABOUT TWO AND A HALF HOURS. THIS MEANS THAT THERE WILL PROBABLY BE ABOUT TEN STATEMENT PER DAY. SOVIETS ARE 21ST ON LIST OF SPEAKERS AND US IS 24TH. THUS HEAD OF SOVIET DEL WILL PROBABLY BE FIRST SPEAKER ON THIRD DAY (THURSDAY, OCTOBER 6), AND US WILL PROBABLY BE FOURTH SPEAKER THAT SAME MORNING. ADDITIONALLY, US WILL CHAIR PLENARY ON FOURTH DAY, FRIDAY, OCTOBER 7, A DAY WHEN STATEMENTS WILL PROBABLY BE HEARD FROM LAST FIVE OF PARTICIPATING STATES (BELGIUM, ITALY, CYPRUS, DENMARK AND IRELAND) AS WELL AS ECE AND UNESCO) US WILL THEREFORE HAVE TWO FORMAL FUNCTIONS DURING PUBLIC OPENING WEEK: A STATEMENT ON OCTOBER 6, AND THE CHAIRMANSHIP ON OCTOBER 7. NORMAL CSCE PROTOCOL PROVIDES THAT THE HEAD OF A DELEGATION AND HIS DEPUTY DIVIDE FUNCTIONS ON CHAIRMANSHIP DAY. THAT IS, ONE SITS ON PODIUM IN SEAT MARKED "CHAIRMAN" AND CONDUCTS MEETING WHILE OTHER SITS DIRECTLY TO HIS LEFT BEHIND US NAME PLATE AND SERVES AS US REP FOR THAT DAY.

3. CLOSED PLENARY--MEETING WILL GO INTO CLOSED PLENARY SECOND WEEK (OCTOBER 10). THERE WILL BE TEN SESSIONS THAT WEEK (MORNING AND AFTERNOON) TO TAKE UP AGENDA ITEM 4--THE THOROUGH EXCHANGE OF VIEWS ON IMPLEMENTATION AND NEW PROPOSALS. THIS WEEK IS DESCRIBED IN THE ORGANIZATIONAL SECTION OF THE DECISION SHEET ADOPTED BY THE PREP-CONFIDENTIAL

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ATORY MEETING AS "A GENERAL DEBATE IN THE PLENARY FOR THE PURPOSE OF INITIATING THE WORK OF THE SUBSIDIARY WORKING BODIES ON ALL CHAPTERS OF THE FINAL ACT". GENERAL DEBATE MEANS THAT DELEGATIONS ARE FREE TO STRUCTURE THEIR PRESENTATIONS AS THEY WISH EMPHASIZING, FOR EXAMPLE, EITHER IMPLEMENTATION OR NEW PROPOSALS, OR GIVING EQUAL TREATMENT TO EACH. PRESUMABLY STATEMENTS DURING THE SECOND WEEK WILL FOCUS MORE SPECIFICALLY ON THE TASKS OF AGENDA ITEM 4, HOWEVER, AS OPPOSED TO THE INITIAL STATEMENTS IN PUBLIC PLENARY THE FIRST WEEK WHICH MOST DELEGATIONS WILL PROBABLY USE TO GIVE A BROAD-BRUSH ASSESSMENT OF ALL ASPECTS OF THE CSCE EXPERIENCE SINCE HELSINKI AND THEIR EXPECTATIONS FOR THE BELGRADE MEETING. THERE IS NO SET TIME OR ORDER FOR PRESENTATIONS DURING THIS GENERAL DEBATE. IT CAN BE EXPECTED THAT DELEGATIONS WILL INSCRIBE THEMSELVES ON THE SPEAKER'S LIST SEVERAL TIMES AND EXERCISE, IN EFFECT, A RIGHT OF REPLY TO PRESENTATIONS OF OTHERS.

4. SUBSIDIARY WORKING BODIES (SWBS)--THERE WILL BE FIVE SWBS. THE THREE MAIN ONES WILL CORRESPOND TO THE THREE MAIN BASKETS OR CHAPTERS OF THE FINAL ACT, I.E., PRINCIPLES AND CBMS, ECONOMIC COOPERATION, HUMANITARIAN

COOPERATION. THEY WILL BEGIN THEIR WORK IN THE THIRD WEEK
(OCTOBER 17) AND WILL NORMALLY MEET FIVE TIMES EACH WEEK.

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THE MEDITERRANEAN SWB AND THE FOLLOW-UP SWB WILL BEGIN
IN THE FOURTH WEEK (OCTOBER 24) AND WILL AVERAGE FIVE MEET-
INGS A WEEK BETWEEN THEM. THE SWBS MUST END THEIR WORK NO
LATER THAN THE CLOSE OF THE ELEVENTH WEEK (DECEMBER 16).
THIS MEANS A MAXIMUM OF NINE WEEKS WORK (45 SESSIONS) FOR
EACH OF THE MAIN SWBS AND EIGHT WEEKS WORK (ABOUT 20
SESSIONS) APIECE FOR THE TWO LESSER SWBS. HOWEVER, THE
PLENARY, WHICH WILL ENTER INTO A TEMPORARY ECLIPSE IN THE
THIRD WEEK (GOING DOWN TO FOUR REGULAR SESSIONS PLUS
ADDITIONAL SESSIONS AS NECESSARY TO HEAR THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE NON

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PARTICIPATING MEDITERRANEAN STATES, AND THEN DOWN TO
THREE A WEEK) IS AUTHORIZED TO RECEIVE REPORTS FROM THE
SWBS "WITH THE BEGINNING OF THE EIGHTH WEEK" (NOVEMBER 21).
WE EXPECT THAT THE SOVIETS WILL PRESS THE SWBS TO BEGIN
DRAFTING THESE REPORTS SHORTLY BEFORE THE END OF THE SEVENTH
WEEK AND TO ATTEMPT TO FOCUS SWB ATTENTION MORE AND MORE UPON
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DRAFTING AS THE DEADLINE FOR THE CLOSE OF THEIR WORK APPROACHES.

5. THE SITUATION IS ALLEVIATED IN THREE WAYS. FIRST, THE DECISION SHEET ADOPTED BY THE PREPARATORY MEETING MANDATES THAT THE SWBS WILL CONDUCT THEIR EXAMINATION OF ITEM 4 OF THE AGENDA "IN A SEQUENTIAL AND STRUCTURED WAY ACCORDING TO THE FINAL ACT", AND "WILL THEN PROCEED TO DRAFT ON THE BASIS OF PROPOSALS". AN SWB SHOULD, THEREFORE, COMPLETE ITS PROGRESS THROUGH THE VARIOUS SUBCHAPTERS OF THE FINAL ACT WITHIN ITS COMPETENCE BEFORE TURNING TO DRAFTING. SECOND, IF IT WISHES, AND SWB CAN SET UP A DRAFTING GROUP TO ASSIST IT WHILE THE MAIN BODY CONTINUES THROUGH THE BASKET. THIS IS A PROCEDURE WHICH THE SOVIETS AGREED DURING THE PREPARATORY MEETING DEBATES WOULD BE WITHIN AN SWB'S COMPETENCE. THIRD, IF THE SWB HAS NOT COMPLETED ITS DRAFTING BY DECEMBER 16, THERE IS PROVISION THAT "DRAFTING GROUPS WILL BE CREATED TO ASSIST THE PLENARY IN THE PREPARATION OF THE CONCLUDING DOCUMENT." THESE DRAFTING GROUPS CAN AMOUNT TO SWBS BY ANOTHER NAME. THEY CAN WORK THROUGH DECEMBER 22, RESUME IN MID-JANUARY AFTER A RECESS AND CONTINUE FOR ABOUT ANOTHER FOUR WEEKS, UNTIL THE SECOND TARGET DATE, MID-FEBRUARY IS REACHED. THIS FLEXIBILITY SHOULD MAKE IT CONSIDERABLY EARLIER FOR THE SWBS TO COMPLETE A DETAILED AND RELATIVELY UNHURRIED THOROUGH EXCHANGE OF VIEWS ON BOTH IMPLEMENTATION AND NEW PROPOSALS BEFORE ATTEMPTING TO DRAFT THE REPORTS TO THE PLENARY WHICH SHOULD CONSTITUTE THEIR FORMAL CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE CONCLUDING DOCUMENT.

6. NEVERTHELESS, A GLANCE AT THE LARGE NUMBER OF SUBJECTS COVERED IN EACH OF THE THREE MAIN BASKETS OF THE FINAL ACT INDICATES THAT EVEN WERE 45 SESSIONS DEVOTED ENTIRELY TO A THOROUGH EXCHANGE OF VIEWS AND ALL DRAFTING DONE EITHER IN SPECIAL SUB-BODIES OF THE SEBS BEFORE DECEMBER 15 IN

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PLENARY-ESTABLISHED DRAFTING GROUPS AFTER THAT DATE, TIME WILL BE AT A PREMIUM. THE MANDATE FOR "SEQUENTIAL AND STRUCTURED" WORK SHOULD HELP US TO COUNTER SOVIET EFFORTS TO AVOID SENSITIVE AREAS OF THE FINAL ACT OR TO JUMBLE TOGETHER SEVERAL UNRELATED SECTIONS. FOR EXAMPLE, IT WOULD CLEARLY BE AGAINST THE SPIRIT OF THE DECISIONS TAKEN BY THE PREPARATORY MEETING FOR A DEL TO ATTEMPT TO OBFUSCATE THE BASKET III SWB'S WORK BY BRINGING IN MATTERS OF CULTURAL COOPERATION BEFORE THE SWB HAS WORKED ITS WAY THROUGH THE FOUR HEADINGS OF THE HUMAN CONTACTS SUBCHAPTER (FAMILY CONTACTS, FAMILY REUNIFICATION, BINATIONAL MARRIAGE AND TRAVEL FOR PERSONAL OR PROFESSIONAL REASONS).

NONETHELESS, THERE ARE FOUR MAJOR SUB-CHAPTERS IN BASKET III CONTAINING 22 SEPARATE HEADINGS. BASKET 88 HAS SIX SUB-CHAPTERS AND 18 SEPARATE HEADINGS. BASKET I HAS TWO MAJOR DIVISIONS--THE DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES AND CBMS--WHICH ARE VIRTUALLY INDEPENDENT OF EACH OTHER.

7. THE PRIORITY WHICH THE AGENDA GIVES TO REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION AND THE ORGANIZATIONAL MANDATE TO WORK IN A "SEQUENTIAL AND STRUCTURED" WAY SHOULD ALSO ASSIST OUR EFFORTS TO KEEP THE SWBS TO AN EXAMINATION OF THE IMPLEMENTATION RECORD BEFORE THEY GET DEEPLY INTO CONCRETE NEGOTIATION OF NEW PROPOSALS. THERE WILL, HOWEVER, BE PRESSURE FROM MANY DELS TO MOVE AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE INTO THE NEGOTIATION STAGE. THIS PRESSURE WILL COME NOT ONLY FROM THE SOVIETS WHO WILL WISH TO ESCAPE FORWARD AND HAVE AS LITTLE TIME AS POSSIBLE DEVOTED TO THEIR IMPLEMENTATION RECORD, BUT ALSO FROM MANY NEUTRAL AND NON-ALIGNED AND SOME WESTERN

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DELS WHICH HAVE SPECIAL INTERESTS IN ADVANCING NEW PROPOSALS. TIME PRESSURE MAY BE PARTICULARLY ACUTE IN THE BASKET I SWB WHERE THERE IS THE ANOMOLY OF TWO QUITE DIFFERENT DOCUMENTS--THE DELCARATION OF PRINCIPLES WHERE WE EXPECT FEW IF ANY NEW PROPOSALS, AND THE CBM DOCUMENT

WHERE THE IMPLEMENTATION REVIEW CAN BE RELATIVELY FACTUAL AND NON-CONTENTIOUS BUT WHERE THERE WILL PROBABLY BE A LARGE NUMBER OF NEW PROPOSALS THAT MANY DELS WILL BE ANXIOUS TO NEGOTIATE.

8. WE THINK IT LIKELY THAT IN THIS COMPLICATED SITUATION IT WILL BE POSSIBLE TO SAY WHAT WE WISH TO SAY ON IMPLEMENTATION AND TO OBTAIN THE SORT OF REVIEW THAT WE DESIRE BY THE END OF THE SWBS. IT IS PROBABLE, HOWEVER, THAT THE SWBS WILL NOT HAVE FULLY NEGOTIATED MANY OF THE NEW PROPOSALS (WHETHER FOR LACK OF TIME OR BECAUSE OF THEIR INHERENT DIFFICULTY) AND THAT IT WILL NOT HAVE BEEN POSSIBLE
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TO REACH AGREEMENT ON MUCH ASSESSMENT LANGUAGE CONCERNING THE IMPLEMENTATION RECORD. WE WOULD EXPECT, THEREFORE, THAT IT WILL BE NECESSARY FOR THE PLENARY TO ESTABLISH DRAFTING GROUPS AT LEAST FOR THE THREE MAIN BASKETS (AND, BECAUSE OF MALTA'S EXPECTED MAXIMALIST POSITION, PROBABLY FOR THE MEDITERRANEAN AS WELL) AFTER DECEMBER 16 AND THAT THESE DRAFTING GROUPS MAY WELL HAVE TO RESUME THEIR WORK IN JANUARY. IT WILL PROBABLY ALSO BE NECESSARY TO CONSTRUCT THE TERM "DRAFTING" FAIRLY BROADLY, TO INCLUDE CONTINUED NEGOTIATION BOTH ON ASSESSMENT LANGUAGE AND ON DISPOSITION OF NEW PROPOSALS.

9. WE WOULD EXPECT MOUNTING PRESSURE BOTH IN THE DRAFTING GROUPS AND IN THE PLENARY IN THE WEEK BEFORE CHRISTMAS AND THEN AGAIN AS JANUARY TURNS INTO FEBRUARY TO REACH AGREEMENT IN THE CONCLUDING DOCUMENT ONLY ON A RELATIVE HANDFUL OF MORE TRACTABLE ISSUES. IN SUCH A SITUATION IT WOULD PROBABLY BE PARTICULARLY DIFFICULT TO NEGOTIATE OTHER THAN A FRAILY ANODYNE ASSESSMENT OF IMPLEMENTATION EXPERIENCE. A SUGGESTION THAT TIME AND CONTROVERSY COULD BE SPARED BY AGREEMENT THAT NATIONAL ASSESSMENTS, PERHAPS EACH PARTICIPANT'S CLOSING STATEMENT IN FINAL WEEK OF PLENARY, COULD BE APPENDED TO CONCLUDING DOCUMENT, MIGHT THEN BE WELL RECEIVED.

10. NEW PROPOSALS, HOWEVER, WOULD PRESENT A DIFFERENT PROBLEM. THERE WOULD BE CONSIDERABLE TEMPTATION FOR SOME DELS SIMPLY TO STONEWALL WHAT THEY FOUND UNATTRACTIVE AND FOR OTHERS TO PROPOSE AS COMPROMISE THAT LARGE NUMBER OF EXPERTS GROUPS BE ESTABLISHED TO DEAL WITH UNAGREED NEW PROPOSALS. IN THIS PROCESS SOME POTENTIALLY GOOD NEW PROPOSALS COULD FAIL BECAUSE OF LACK OF TIME TO NEGOTIATE THEM FULLY, AND PRESSURES MIGHT BUILD FOR ACCEPTANCE OF EXPERTS GROUPS FOR SOME OTHERS. LATTER DEVELOPMENT MIGHT MEAN EITHER THAT
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SO MANY EXPERTS GROUPS WOULD BE CREATED THAT CSCE WOULD IN EFFECT BE INSTITUTIONALIZED AS ON-GOING PROCESS WITH EMPHASIS SHIFTED TO NEW COMMITMENTS AND AWAY FROM FULFILLMENT OF THOSE MADE AT HELSINKI, OR THAT WE COULD BE DRAWN INTO PROJECTS OF DOUBTFUL VALUE SUCH AS ONGOING MEDITERRANEAN GROUP. EXPERIENCE DURING PREPARATORY MEETING, HOWEVER, HAS MADE IT OBVIOUS THAT MANY SMALLER DELS ASSIGN VERY HEAVY VALUE TO MAINTENANCE OF FOLLOW-UP PROCESS. THIS IS REFLECTED IN COMMITMENT THAT MAIN MEETING MUST SET DATE AND PLACE OF NEXT MEETING SIMILAR TO BELGRADE BEFORE IT CLOSES. ONE POSSIBLE SCENARIO, THEREFORE, IS A DEAL IN WHICH SOME DELS WOULD DROP DEMANDS FOR MEANINGFUL ASSESSMENT IN RETURN FOR AGREEMENT ON AN EARLY DATE FOR RESUMPTION OF CSCE PROCESS INCLUDING PERHAPS A FEW EXPERTS GROUPS AND A NEW BELGRADE-TYPE MEETING WITHIN TWO YEARS.

11. FINAL WEEK OF PLENARY -- THE AGENDA PROVIDES FOR OPEN PLENARY TO HEAR CLOSING STATEMENTS FROM EACH PARTICIPANT AND FORMALLY TO ADOPT THE CONCLUDING DOCUMENT. THE CLOSING STATEMENTS ARE EXPECTED TO LAST APPROXIMATELY TWENTY MINUTES EACH. THIS WOULD MEAN TYFT APPROXIMATELY THREE DAYS WOULD BE REQUIRED FOR THE FINAL WEEK. IF THE PRESSURES TO FINISH THE MEETING BY DECEMBER 22 OR BY MED-FEBRUARY BECOME INTENSE AND TRADE-OFF DOWN TO A LOWEST COMMON DENOMINATOR CONCLUDING DOCUMENT PLUS AN EARLY RESUMPTION OF FOLLOW-UP DEVELOPS, THIS COULD GIVE PARTICULAR IMPORTANCE TO CLOSING STATEMENTS. THESE STATEMENTS WOULD THEN BECOME MAJOR OPPORTUNITY TO GIVE MEANING TO WHAT HAS TRANSPIRED AND WHAT PARTICIPANTS EXPECT TO HAPPEN TO CSCE IN FUTURE. (US IS SCHEDULED

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TO BE SECOND SPEAKER ON FIRST DAY OF THIS FINAL WEEK). BECAUSE OF POSSIBILITY THAT OTHERWISE CLOSING WEEK MIGHT GET LOST IN A RUSH TO CLOSE MAIN MEETING AFTER AN ALL NIGHT SESSION JUST BEFORE CHRISTMAS OR IN MID-FEBRUARY, WE HAVE PUT IN AN INFORMAL MARKER NOTING THAT, PARTICULARLY FOR DELS WHOSE HEADS MAY NOT BE ABLE TO APPEAR IN BELGRADE AT MOMENT'S NOTICE, IT MAY BE NECESSARY, WHENEVER AGREEMENT IS REACHED ON CONCLUDING DOCUMENT, TO SCHEDULE FINAL WEEK OF OPEN PLENARY A WEEK OR SO LATER.

12. WE BELIEVE THAT MECHANICAL CONSIDERATIONS AND POSSIBLE IMPLICATIONS DESCRIBED ABOVE SHOULD BE TAKEN INTO CONSIDERATION IN DEPARTMENT'S PLANNING FOR MAIN BELGRADE MEETING. OUR JUDGMENT IS THAT THEY SUGGEST SEVERAL GENERAL TACTICS:

A. WITH RESPECT TO REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION, PREMIUM SHOULD BE PLACED ON PREPARATION OF TIGHT, COGENT PRESENTATIONS THAT CONFIDENTIAL

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WILL, WHEREVER POSSIBLE, SAVE TIME BY COMBINING COMMON ELEMENTS OF SEVERAL RELATED CHAPTERS OR SUBCHAPTERS OF RESPECTIVE BASKETS. THIS DOES NOT MEAN THAT WE SHOULD NOT USE INDIVIDUAL CASES OR EXAMPLES WHERE THESE SEEM APPROPRIATE, BUT THAT TO GREATEST POSSIBLE EXTENT WE SHOULD TRY TO STICK TO REASONABLY BROAD THEMES AND UTILIZE EXAMPLES WHERE THEY HELP TO ILLUSTRATE A PATTERN TO WHICH WE WISH TO CALL ATTENTION RATHER THAN SEEK TO IMMERSE SWBS OVERLY IN DETAILS.

B. WITH RESPECT TO NEW PROPOSALS, PREMIUM SHOULD BE PLACED ON A LIMITED LIST WHICH HAS CHANCE TO BE NEGOTIATED DURING RELATIVELY BREIF TIME AVAILABLE FOR THIS PURPOSE. TO ACHIEVE A CONSENSUS, SUCH NEW PROPOSALS WOULD HAVE TO BE RELATIVELY SIMPLE AND NON-CONTROVERSIAL OR SUFFICIENTLY GENERALLY WORDED SO AS TO MAKE THEM ACCEPTABLE POLITICALLY TO ALL 35 PARTICIPATING STATES. ADDITIONAL ADVANTAGE THAT MIGHT ACCRUE FROM SUCH A PACKAGE WOULD BE THAT IT COULD REDUCE PRESSURES TO SET UP EXPERTS GROUPS FOR THEIR OWN SAKE, EVEN ON QUESTIONABLE PROPOSITIONS, SIMPLY TO DEMONSTRATE THAT BELGRADE HAS PRODUCED SOME FORWARD MOVEMENT.

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